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Ireland under the Tudors. By RICHARD BAGWELL, M.A. Volume III. London and New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1890. — vii, 502 pp.

A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. Volumes VII and VIII. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1890. — xvi, 465, xv, 650 pp.

In his third volume Mr. Bagwell completes the work of which the first two volumes were published in 1885. With the introductory chapters on Ireland prior to the Tudor period, he covers the history of that unhappy island during the whole time of English interest in it down to the death of Elizabeth. As a clear, concise and colorless collection of the facts involved in that history, his work may be considered valuable. His information is drawn almost exclusively from state papers, private manuscripts and contemporary annals, and may be depended upon, therefore, for a high degree of accuracy. The author shows himself a faithful and industrious student of the sources of history, but it is hardly possible to award him the meed of a gifted historian. In protracted research among the annals of the sixteenth century, he has absorbed their spirit as well as their facts, and his narrative therefore is painfully dry. Not a page of picturesque description, scarcely a paragraph of philosophic reflection, relieves the tedious monotony of the chronicler's record. Mr. Bagwell's volumes may be recommended as an excellent antidote for the fascinating romance of Mr. Froude which is sometimes called Irish history.

If Mr. Bagwell has put in final array the *facts* of the Tudor régime in Ireland, Lecky's great work has certainly done the same for the *history* of that kingdom in the eighteenth century. It is the full and impartial exposition of the inner springs of political action that distinguishes history from annals; and this is the particular characteristic of Mr. Lecky's writings. In contrast with Bagwell, he is philosophic; in contrast with Froude, he is impartial. The two volumes now published complete his work. They are devoted entirely to Ireland and cover the period from 1793 to 1802. These nine years were momentous in the history of Ireland's relations with England. The complex forces set in action chiefly by the French Revolution resulted in the insurrection of 1798 and the Act of Union. Controversy has raged with peculiar violence about each of these events, and not only the scientific disentanglement of conflicting records, but also the personal judgment of the historian on the interpretation of the facts as attained has been looked forward to with profound interest. It was well known that Mr. Lecky's opinion on the present questions of Irish politics would tend to make difficult an attitude of strict impartiality on events so closely connected

with modern issues. The volumes show that while the difficulty was a great one, it has been successfully overcome. Not that there is no indication of dislike for present Irish leaders and their policy and purpose. Such indications, whether by direct expression or indirect allusion, are abundant. But they are not allowed to affect the narrative; they are by way of parenthesis and disconnected comment and are not inextricably blended in the fabric of the history. Mr. Lecky believes that the Irish leaders of to-day and their cause are alike hopelessly bad; but he never himself lapses nor allows his readers to lapse into the fallacy of concluding therefrom that the Irish leaders of a century ago and their cause were hopelessly bad. The effort necessary to be impartial is obvious, and his success is all the more creditable.

In the latest volumes he pursues, even more closely than before, his chosen method of illustrating in the fullest possible way both sides of every question upon which controversy has arisen. The extraordinary facilities which he has had for this purpose and the untiring diligence with which he has explored the great accumulations of documents opened to his study have made his volumes the repositories of immense stores of information which might have remained forever inaccessible to less favored students of Irish affairs. His practice of incorporating in his text copious excerpts from the original authorities is one which will gain the enthusiastic gratitude of thinking readers, however well founded may be his apology for derogating from the "symmetry and artistic charm" of the work.

The first important subject of controversy discussed in these volumes is the Fitzwilliam episode — the recall in 1795 of a viceroy appointed under a pretty clearly determined policy of liberality to the Catholics, and an abrupt disavowal of that policy. Mr. Lecky's judgment, after an exhaustive review of all that can be said on each side of the subject, coincides with that of the contemporary Whigs and of the Irish writers most hostile to England. Ireland, he thinks, was on a fair way to relative peace and prosperity and to becoming an element of strength to the empire.

But from the day when Pitt recalled Lord Fitzwilliam the course of her history was changed. Intense and growing hatred of England, revived religious and class animosities, a savage rebellion savagely repressed, a legislative union prematurely and corruptly carried, mark the closing years of the eighteenth century; and after ninety years of direct British government, the condition of Ireland is universally recognized as the chief scandal and the chief weakness of the empire. [VIII, 98.]

The exceedingly complicated play of influences and interests leading up to the insurrection of 1798 is most admirably analyzed. Here also the line of the author's criticism follows the old Whig sentiment, and is

in general extremely unfavorable to the policy of the Protestant oligarchy headed by Fitzgibbon, which has found in Froude its only prominent panegyrist.

In the eighth volume, pages 265-500, Mr. Lecky has given us by far the best history yet written of the process by which the union of the two kingdoms was achieved. However divergent views have been as to the desirability of the union, there has never been much difference of opinion as to the character of the means employed by the government to bring it about. Dr. Ingram's recently acquired and published conviction (see *POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY*, II, 684) that the measure was carried "by fair and constitutional means," "free from any taint of corruption," and that it "was accompanied with the hearty assent and concurrence" of the people, is not shared by Mr. Lecky. Though he gives due consideration to the very weighty reasons that *might* have made union absolutely necessary at the time, he does not think that the conditions actually existent justified Pitt's policy.

The measure was an English one, introduced prematurely before it had been demanded by any section of Irish opinion, carried without a dissolution and by gross corruption, in opposition to the majority of the free constituencies and to the great preponderance of the unbribed intellect of Ireland. Under such conditions it was scarcely likely to prove successful. [VIII, 496.]

The conditions of its success Mr. Lecky believes to have been in the accomplishment of the three measures which he shows were connected with it—Catholic emancipation, commutation of tithes and payment of the Catholic priests. He considers Pitt's failure to force Catholic relief, after the pledge practically given, a serious stain on that minister's character.

The continued disaffection of Ireland was much less due to the union or to the means by which the union was carried, than to the shipwreck of the great measures of conciliation which ought to have accompanied it and which were intended to be its immediate consequence. [VIII, 536.]

Mr. Lecky's concluding reflections on the political and social condition of Ireland since 1800, like the casual allusions scattered through the body of his work, are suggestive, but very pessimistic. He has no liking for democracy and least of all for Irish Catholic democracy. Though manifestly in sympathy with the party of Grattan which was seeking popular reforms a century ago, he entertains no suspicion that his views on modern questions may be inconsistent with that sympathy. It never occurs to him that relatively to the general progress of social development, which has certainly affected Ireland as well as other lands, he himself may be standing now where Fitzgibbon stood in 1790.

WM. A. DUNNING.